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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/EYES ONLY

November 10, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN HOLDRIDGE  
DICK KENNEDY

FROM: Winston Lord *W*

SUBJECT: China Policy Group

As I have already mentioned to you, Dr. Kissinger wishes to establish a high-level China Policy Group. The genesis of this idea was a letter from Dick Moorsteen, a copy of which is attached.

Upon reading Moorsteen's proposal, Dr. Kissinger asked that you prepare a directive establishing this Group. Rather than setting up a separate Under Secretary-level group for just one country, as Moorsteen's letter might suggest, Dr. Kissinger asked that it be done as a "NSSM of policy review for the Senior Review Group." I take this to mean setting up a subgroup reporting to the Senior Review Group, since merely issuing a NSSM study directive would not accomplish Moorsteen's primary purpose of having a standing body on China policy.

Please draw up a directive for HAK's signature that seems to you to make the most sense bureaucratically and in terms of the charter for the new Group. Also suggestions on public relations handling.

For the time being this prospective Group is very sensitive and knowledge of it should be confined to the addressees of this memorandum.

Attachment

cc: Jeanne Davis

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By *AT* NASA Date 11-27-77

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

97 Malibu Colony  
Malibu, California 90265  
October 8, 1970

Dear Henry:

In my present incarnation as a China specialist, I would like to offer a proposal. I think it could have modest but useful benefits within the USG, but also in our relations with both China and Russia. I am sending it to you directly because I doubt its bureaucratic survival in the State Department.

The US now has the policy initiative in our relations with China. The principal moves have been shaped and timed by us. The results have been positive but modest. The question is how much more we should try to do and at what pace.

What troubles me is that we are not well set up bureaucratically. When China-related questions come up to the policy making level, they are usually part of another problem. Someone responsible for Japan or SE Asia or military deployments has the action responsibility, and China does not come into focus as a national entity. This makes it hard for senior policy makers to develop a usable picture of China in those terms or to think through our long-term relations with China as a basic element in our policy.

I do not argue that bureaucratic changes in the USG will eliminate this problem or even that our relations with China should be the decisive element in determining our posture in the Pacific. But I do think there are changes that would help us look at policies and decisions with China aspects in the context of our long term relations with China.

I suggest you create a China Policy Group at the Under Secretary level. Members would include State, Defense, CIA, JCS and you, with others invited when appropriate. You would chair. If it is to be more than an educational effort (through this would be part of its function), it has to

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deal with practical concerns. I do not mean such negotiations as the Warsaw talks, but more fundamental questions such as post-Okinawan nuclear deployments, the use of Taiwan as a base, etc. The Group should meet periodically (say at least once a month), to discuss China-related matters. The discussions themselves would be useful ~~in the policy process~~, but where appropriate recommendations would be made to the President and Agencies too.

We don't have too many operational problems with a China focus. To make the Group work, it must have a staff that can develop a high quality agenda -- not make-work but relevant issues and papers. This requires some people working for it full time, but mainly it requires a staff director with enough quality and prestige to produce good work and get the support he needs from the agencies.

I have one other reason for recommending the establishment of this Group. As long as we are still unable to talk to the Chinese at Warsaw, I think we must keep up the momentum of our previous policy moves toward China, both as a signal to the Chinese and, more immediately, a reminder to the Russians. The creation of the Group would cost us nothing while helping fulfill these purposes.

To get this result, the existence of the China Policy Group would have to become public information. This could be done on a background basis at State, in one of your own backgrounders, or even by the President at a press conference, depending on how much attention should be directed toward it.

If you like the proposal, you may not want to let the existence of the Group be known until voting on the China question at the UN is over. On the other hand, the UN vote will not be until November. The establishment of the Group should have good public relations fall-out generally, and you might not want to wait that long.

Sincerely,

*Dick*

Richard Moorsteen